

Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace

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That the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) was responsible for some building activity in the Great Palace of Constantinople is a fact well attested by published sources and not entirely unknown to modern scholarship. However, the armchair archaeology of this work remains confused and obscure, and can benefit from a fresh review of the evidence.

Choniates, in reviewing Manuel's constructions, writes that the Emperor built long colonnaded halls 'in both palaces', which he decorated with mosaics depicting his victories.¹ That one of these halls was at the Blachernae is confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela;² that the other was in the Great Palace is clear not only by implication from a passage where Choniates states that a 'huge gilded hall' built by Manuel housed a porphyry basin formerly belonging to the open-air courtyard of the apartments of Nikephoros Phokas overlooking the Boukoleon.³ Kinnamos, referring to the successes of Manuel's forces in southern Italy (1157), says that they took San Germano 'and three hundred other towns; the name of each can be read by whoever wishes from the building erected by this emperor at the old palace in the south of the city'. The artist apparently exaggerated the number of towns out of flattery, to Manuel's

1. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. Van Dieten (CFHB, XI/I [Berlin/New York] 1975), p. 206 (=CSHB, p. 269); C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), pp. 228–9.

2. M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (London, 1907), p. 13.

3. Choniates, p. 14 (149).

annoyance, although Kinnamos prudently declined to say whether or not the offending representations were ever removed.⁴

Over a century later, the festivities after the coronation of Michael IX Palaiologos (1295) were held in the *Manouelites triklinos* of the Great Palace.⁵ Du Cange recognized from this mention by Pachymeres that Manuel I must have built a hall in the Great Palace,⁶ but the twelfth-century evidence cited above seems to have been overlooked until R. Guiland drew attention to it, in an attempt to prove that Manuel restored the *Lausiakos triklinos* originally built by Justinian II.⁷

Guiland bases his argument on information in Nicholas Mesarites' account of a popular revolt which took place in Constantinople on 31 July 1200,⁸ in which some disaffected nobles, a large city mob, and their puppet emperor, a cretinous figure known as John Komnenos the Fat,⁹ occupied the Great Palace for most of the day. After John's hasty coronation in St. Sophia, his supporters carried him to the Hippodrome and thence, breaking down a series of gates, into the Triklinos of Justinian.¹⁰ Towards evening, Alexios III, then at the Blachernae, organized a counter-attack. His troops, led by

4. John Kinnamos (*CSHB*), pp. 171–2; tr. C. M. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York, 1976), pp. 131–2. Brand believes that Kinnamos here and elsewhere is referring to the Blachernae, which leads him to mistranslate the passage and to make the incredible assertion (p. 242, n. 61) that 'Kinnamos always regards the Blachernai Palace . . . as south of the city.' The mosaics in the Chalke depicting Justinian's Italian victories might, if still visible, have inspired Manuel's artists: Procopius, *De. Aed.*, I, 10; C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen 1959).

5. Pachymeres (*CSHB*), II, pp. 196–7.

6. Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, II: *Constantinopolis Christiana* (Paris, 1690), p. 121.

7. R. Guiland, 'La porte des Skyla', *EEBS*, XXXIII (1964), 76ff. esp. 83–6 (= *Etudes de topographie de Constantinople Byzantine* [Berlin/Amsterdam, 1969], pp. 154ff., 158–60. On the Lausiakos, see also J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1910), pp. 93–5.

8. Ed. A. Heisenberg, Nikolaos Mesarites. *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos* (Prog. des k. alt. Gymn. z. Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906/7 [Würzburg, 1907], pp. 19–49; tr. F. Gabler, *Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopel* (Graz, 1958), pp. 267–316.

9. Footnote on opposite page.

10. Also a work of Justinian II: see Ebersolt, pp. 95–7; Guiland, op. cit., pp. 74–6 (153–4).

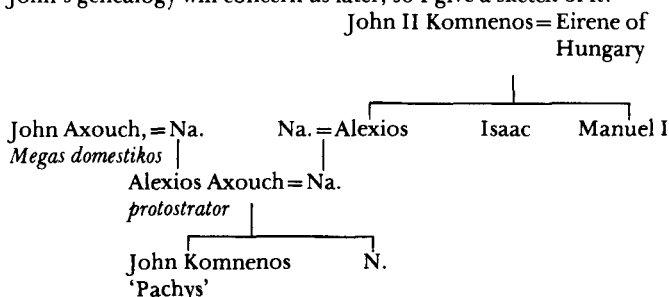
Alexios Palaiologos and George Oinaïotes, forced their way into the palace by the route that the rebels had taken. They eventually encountered John Komnenos in the Mouchroutas, 'an enormous building adjacent to the Chrysotriklinos, lying as it does on the west side of the latter'. Mesarites gives a long and interesting description of this building which, as its name implies, was built in Islamic style.¹¹ A large staircase led up to it, decorated with multicoloured, cruciform tile patterns. It had a 'stalactite' ceiling and was decorated inside with 'images of Persians in their various costumes'; it was the work of 'a Persian hand', and of a person related to John's grandfather. John's supporters tried to defend the staircase, but the imperial troops cut them down. John escaped by the back of the building, but a detachment of troops chased him by another route and caught up with him on the labyrinthine ascent to the imperial stable.¹² He was dragged back down the steps of the Mouchroutas and into the Triklinos of Justinian, where he was stabbed to death.

Guilland affirms Ebersolt's suggestion that the position of the

11. Heisenberg, *Palastrevolution*, pp. 44–5. The name is derived from Arabic *mahruta* ('cone'). A translation of the description is given by Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 228–9.

12. Guilland, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 (85–6) equates this with a spiral staircase mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, but the reference could simply be to twisting alleys.

9. John's genealogy will concern us later, so I give a sketch of it:



Sources: J. L. Van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae* (CFHB, III [Berlin/New York, 1972], p. 101; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας* II (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 362; Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 9–10, 103, 144–5 (14, 135, 188–9). Cf. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II (Berlin, 1972), pp. 70–1.

Mouchroutas to the west of the Chrysotriklinos corresponds to that of the Lausiakos.¹³ He sees the indication that the builder was related to John's grandfather as a reference to the Emperor Manuel, whose brother Alexios was the father of John's mother, and hence has no hesitation in identifying the Mouchroutas with the throne-room mentioned by Choniates and Kinnamos; the name 'Triklinos of Manuel' used by Pachymeres was thus, in his view, a later development.

These propositions are superficially attractive, but there are serious objections to all of them, quite apart from the improbability that the same palace building would have acquired three names, two of them within the space of a century.

(a) *The Mouchroutas and the Lausiakos*

In the *Book of Ceremonies*, the Lausiakos appears as the main processional area leading from the vestibule (Tripeton) and atrium (Horologion) of the Chrysotriklinos, the main throne-room of the Sacred Palace, to the Triklinos of Justinian and hence to the main western exit of the palace.¹⁴ It gave access via a bronze door and a spiral staircase to the Ivory Gate, and by an ordinary staircase to the Eidikon, the Triconchos, and associated buildings.¹⁵ The hall adjoined a kitchen and a garden, and had a door leading down to the Thermastra.¹⁶ It also lay close to, or partly covered, one of the palace cisterns.¹⁷

The Lausiakos was thus a major concourse in the western part of the palace, especially in relation to the Triklinos of Justinian and the Chrysotriklinos, with both of which it had directly

13. Ebersolt, p. 214, n. 1.

14. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* (CSHB), I, II, p. 86; I, 12, p. 89; I, 14, p. 91; I, 21, p. 123; I, 64, pp. 286, 288.

15. Ibid., I, 14, p. 91; I, 32, pp. 174–5; I, 50, 52, pp. 260, 263; I, 66, p. 297; II, 1, p. 518.

16. Ibid., I, 70, p. 340; II, 1, p. 519; II, 18, p. 605; Theophanes Continuatus (CSHB), 105.

17. Skylitzes, p. 164 (ed. J. Thurn); p. 241 (CSHB), says that Basil I cleared a cistern, filled in by Heraclius, which lay 'between the Triklinos of Justinian and the Lausiakos'. Since the two halls were contiguous, the cistern must have been either under the area where they adjoined, or in an angle between them. The cistern may be the one found near the Sphendone of the Hippodrome: E. Mamboury-Th. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen Hippodrom und Marmara-Meer* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1934), pp. 47–9; S. Miranda, *Les palais des empereurs byzantins* (Mexico, 1964), p. 78.

communicating doors and no difference in level that the author of *De Cerimoniis* considered worth mentioning. These points are important to bear in mind when reading Mesarites' account. It is clear from this that the entrance to the Mouchroutas lay at the top of an impressive staircase, which one went down in order to reach the Triklinos of Justinian. If the Mouchroutas was a rebuilding of the Lausiakos, the staircase would have stood at the point where the two *triklinoi* connected. Yet, as we have seen, the *Book of Ceremonies* offers no grounds for such a supposition. Guillard, indeed, does not make it, but identifies the staircase with 'le grand escalier du Lausiakos, situé en face du Tripéton'.¹⁸ The identification may be correct, but in this case the Mouchroutas cannot have corresponded exactly to the Lausiakos, for the simple reason that the stairs in question ascended out of, not into, the latter.

Another objection arises with regard to the sequence of events as narrated by Mesarites. The imperial troops marched without serious opposition through the outer gates of the Palace, through the covered Hippodrome, to the Skyla or ante-chamber of the Triklinos of Justinian.¹⁹

'From this point the gates of the palace lay open and unguarded, the Triklinos of Justinian deserted of men. The attack was on the Chrysotriklinos, and the soldiers' onrush spread to all the corners of the palace, cutting down by the sword all those who huddled away in fear. But the troops were afraid at the small number of those who confronted them, so they withdrew, thinking that there might be some ambush, some secret stratagem, some plot. In the long absence of a pursuer, John's supporters were seized with fear, and proceeded to the ascent of the Mouchroutas.'²⁰

It is not clear how far the imperial troops had progressed before they became unnerved at the lack of opposition and retired. It is also uncertain whether the 'long absence of pursuit' which terrified John and his supporters into moving to the Mouchroutas refers to the day as a whole or to the lull in the

18. Op. cit., p. 85 (160).

19. Heisenberg, *Palastrevolution*, pp. 43–4. On the Skyla, cf. Guillard, op. cit., pp. 70–4 (151–3); on the covered hippodrome, 'L'Hippodrome couvert', *BS*, XIX (1958), 26–72 (*Etudes de topographie*, pp. 165–210).

20. Heisenberg, *Palastrevolution*, p. 44.

attack caused by the attackers' apprehension of ambush. What does seem clear is that the attack, coming from the Triklinos of Justinian, had penetrated at least as far as the Chrysotriklinos and spread out all over the palace before the attackers discovered John and his hard core of supporters.²¹ It is therefore logical to suppose that the latter were not present in nor easily visible from the Lausiakos.

These objections, it is recognized, are based on scanty data which may not reflect the real complications of palace topography, and they do not dispose of the argument that a building west of the Chrysotriklinos and close to the Triklinos of Justinian must be sought in the general area of the Lausiakos. They show, however, that Ebersolt's cautious suggestion that the layout of this part of the palace may have changed considerably since the tenth century is more convincing than Guillard's assertion that 'dans le Mouchroutas de Mésaritis se retrouve, en effet, le vieux Lausiakos du Livre des Cérémonies . . . la physionomie générale du Grand Palais n'avait guère changé'.²²

(b) *The Mouchroutas and the Triklinos of Manuel*

Here too it is difficult to see how Mesarites, on the one hand, and, on the other, Kinnamos and Choniates can be referring to the same building. The historians agree that the figural decorations showed Manuel's victories, and Kinnamos specifies that these included the capture of three hundred Italian towns; Mesarites, however, mentions only the representation of Turks, and not in the role of vanquished enemies. It could be argued that Mesarites' description isolates the Islamic elements in the building because the author's purpose is to evoke the dramatic irony of a usurping emperor of Turkish descent who spent his last tragic moments in suitably infidel surroundings. Fortunately, there is further evidence for Manuel's throne-room which has never been used in any study of the Great Palace because it has almost universally been associated with the Blachernae. This evidence comes from the dossier of the synodal

21. This seems to be confirmed by another passage (ibid., 47), where Mesarites mentions soldiers who came looking for John at the Church of the Pharos.

22. 'La porte des Skyla', 85 (159).

sessions which Manuel held in 1166 in order to define the Orthodox doctrinal position on Christ's saying 'The Father is greater than I' (John 14:28).²³ Introducing the first session, the compiler of the dossier writes that Manuel 'occupied the imperial throne in the upper floor, on the seaward side, of the hall recently built by the Emperor in the Great Palace over the western wall (τοῦ δυτικωτέρου τείχους ἐφ' ὑπέρθεον); the hall which takes its name from the appellation of Manuel, in which the artist's craft, taking but a few of the Emperor's innumerable achievements, has portrayed these, as best it could, in golden tesserae mixed with others of various colours'.²⁴ The text of the proceedings opens with a mention of the Emperor presiding 'in the upper-floor arch (τροπικῇ), on the south side of the *Porphyromanouelatos triklinos* in the Great Palace'.²⁵

From this it is evident that the name 'Triklinos of Manuel' which Pachymeres uses was not a later development, but was official from the beginning. We also learn that the hall in which Manuel had his victories portrayed overlooked the western wall of the palace. This wall was probably the one built by Nikephoros II Phokas in order to protect the palace from attacks from the town: he drew it 'from one end of the side of the palace which slopes towards the sea, as far as the sea at the other'.²⁶ The alignment of this wall and the buildings next to it are not known. Nevertheless, one may fairly safely assume that it did not pass directly underneath the Mouchroutas. This adjoined the Chrysotriklinos, centre of the lower palace area, lay near the Triklinos of Justinian on a slightly higher level, and had a back exit leading to the upper palace. Thus, however the plan of the palace is drawn,²⁷ it is impossible to avoid placing the Triklinos of Justinian, if not also the covered Hippodrome,

23. Cod. Vat. gr. 1176 (the original *tomos*) ed. A. Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, IV (Rome, 1831), pp. 1ff.; text also incorporated in Choniates' *Panoplia Dogmatike*: MPG, CXL, 201ff. Cf. Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 211–13 (276–8); Kinnamos, pp. 251ff.; C. Mango, 'The Conciliar Edict of 1166', *DOP*, XVII (1963), 320.

24. Mai, pp. 36–7; MPG, CXL, 236.

25. Mai, p. 37; MPG, loc. cit. See also L. Petit, 'Documents inédits sur le concile de 1166 et ses derniers adversaires', *VV*, XI (1904), 379.

26. Leo Diaconus (*CSHB*), p. 64; R. Guiland, 'L'assassinat de Nicéphore II Phokas', *BS*, XIII (1952), 108ff. (430ff.).

27. See additional note.

between the Mouchroutas and the western edge of the palace. Little doubt can remain that the 'Triklinos of Manuel' and the Mouchroutas were separate buildings.

(c) *The builder of the Mouchroutas*

Guilland's assumption that Manuel was the relative of John Komnenos' grandfather responsible for building the Mouchroutas is fair enough, but it is made without due consideration of the fact that John had another, paternal grandfather who was a Turk.²⁸ Conceivably, therefore, what Mesarites means is that the architect of the Mouchroutas was a Turk related to John Axouch.²⁹ If so, we must consider the possibility that the building was commissioned by some other twelfth-century emperor. Isaac II is the one who comes most readily to mind. He was a lavish builder, he dismantled old structures in the Great Palace, and he is the only ruler of the period besides Manuel known to have made additions to the complex.³⁰ The mosque at Constantinople was rebuilt during his reign.³¹ That Seljuq forms of domestic architecture were in vogue among the aristocracy of the Angelos court seems evident from the alterations which the Despot Constantine, Isaac's cousin, made to the metropolitan's palace at Naupaktos about 1218.³² There may, too, be significance in the fact that Mesarites does not mention by name the Emperor who built the Mouchroutas: Isaac had been deposed by Alexios III, ruler at the time of writing.

Manuel, however, cannot be excluded. He did not necessarily limit himself to a single *triklinos* at the Great Palace, since at the Blachernae he built residential quarters in addition to the

28. See above, n. 9.

29. This is the interpretation favoured by Mango (*Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 229, n. 235).

30. Choniates, p. 442 (580–1); Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 236; R. Guilland, 'La disparition des cours', *Mélanges O. et M. Merlier* (Athens, 1955), 8 (*Etudes de topographie*, p. 547).

31. *MPL*, CCXVI, 354B.

32. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Συμβολή εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀρχιίδος*, *Sbornik Statej Lamanskomu*, I (St. Petersburg, 1907), 245–6; D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), p. 55.

throne-room which Choniates mentions.³³ The construction of a building in Seljuq style would not have been inappropriate during his reign. It was Manuel who had the Sultan of Rum on a state visit to Constantinople, and modified the catechism to make it less offensive to converts from Islam.³⁴ His first wife Eirene (Bertha of Sulzbach) was on very good terms with Seljuq rulers.³⁵ Persons of Turkish origin were prominent at his court,³⁶ and one of them, the *protostrator* Alexios Axouch (father of John Komnenos the Fat), incurred the Emperor's displeasure because he decorated the walls of his suburban villa with pictures of the Sultan's campaigns, not of the Emperor's exploits or scenes from classical mythology, as was customary among men in authority.³⁷ This suggests that artists capable of handling Seljuq themes were present in Constantinople at the time; indeed, Axouch may have done no more than imitate a fashion created by the Emperor in his own palace.

The preceding discussion, despite much that is inconclusive, has at least established that two major buildings were added to the Great Palace in the twelfth century, one, if not both, the work of Manuel I. These additions were possibly the most considerable since the tenth century. This fact in itself should be sufficient to warrant a reappraisal of the general opinion, expressed in most studies of the city and the period,³⁸ that the

33. Cod. Marc, gr. 524, f. 112v.: Sp. Lampros, *Neos Hellenomnemon*, VIII (1911), 151.

34. Choniates, pp. 118ff., 213ff. (154ff., 278ff.); Kinnamos, pp. 204ff.

35. W. Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinorum*, Fasc. 3 (Petrograd, 1917), p. 320.

36. Apart from John and Alexios Axouch, there was a general called Prosouch: Choniates, pp. 52, 64 (71, 85); Kinnamos, pp. 33, 73. The Chouroup who commanded the fleet early in Manuel's reign was probably of Turkish origin: Kinnamos, pp. 44, 98, 101. For other aspects of Byzantine-Seljuq contact in the twelfth century, see C. Cahen, 'Une famille byzantine au service des Seljuquides d'Asie Mineure', *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), 145–9; S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor* (Los Angeles 1971), pp. 221ff.

37. Kinnamos, pp. 266–7; Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 224–5.

38. A notable exception is S. Runciman, 'Blachernae Palace and its Decoration', *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 275–83.

Komnenoi in general and Manuel in particular abandoned the Great Palace for the Blachernae; an opinion so deep-rooted that it has caused the plainest of evidence to be misinterpreted or underrated.³⁹

In order to proceed to a more realistic assessment, it is useful to have certain considerations in mind. Firstly, imperial residence outside the Great Palace was not limited to the Blachernae. Alexios I, John II, and Manuel I were often absent on campaign, and twelfth-century Emperors, like their predecessors, divided their time between a number of other urban and suburban palaces: the Mangana, the Forty Martyrs, Philopation, S. Zacharias, Chalcedon, Scutari, Meloudion.⁴⁰ Secondly, the Blachernae had always been the second imperial complex within the city, with an important ceremonial role, attached as it was to the principal sanctuary of the Virgin in Constantinople.⁴¹ The additions which transformed it into the chief imperial residence of Palaiologan times were, it is true, the work of the Komnenoi and Angeloi, and most particularly of Alexios I and Manuel I.⁴² However, other eleventh-century Emperors before Alexios had resided at the Blachernae, and it is possible that they used buildings erected since the compilation

39. See, e.g., n. 4 above, and Guiland, 'La porte des Skyla', 83 (158), where Manuel's supposed neglect of the Great Palace is given as a reason why he could not have built an entirely new hall there.

40. See Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 132–3, 143–5, 147–8, 150–3; cf. also M. Treu, *Nicephori Chrysobergae ad Angelos orationes tres* (Breslau, 1892), 1, 13; P. Gautier, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène', *REB*, XXVIII (1970), 41: τὰ πολλὰ βασιλεια καὶ οἱ ἐπ' ἑκάστου κατὰ τὸ εἶκος θησαυροί.

41. On the Blachernae quarter, walls, churches, and palace, see A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City, and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899), pp. 109–77; J. B. Papadopoulos, *Les palais et les églises des Blachernes* (Athens, 1928); A. M. Schneider, 'Die Blachernen', *Oriens*, IV (1951), 82–120; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 123ff.; idem. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique*, 3: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), pp. 161ff.

42. Alexios built a throne-room prior to 1092; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 126. Manuel built the throne-room and apartments mentioned above (see notes 1, 2, 33) which were perhaps different from those named after his first wife; he also strengthened the fortifications of the palace; Choniates, pp. 384, 543, 544 (500, 719, 720); Van Millingen, op. cit., pp. 122ff.; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 126–8.

of the *Book of Ceremonies*.⁴³ The new popularity of the palace may have been connected with the cult of the Virgin's weekly 'habitual miracle' at the Blachernae church, first attested in the eleventh century, which probably grew up after the discovery of a pre-iconoclastic icon during the restoration of the church by Romanos III Argyros.⁴⁴

Thirdly, the Great Palace had certain administrative and ceremonial functions which nothing less than a complete break—the Latin Conquest—could displace. The mint was here in 1185 and in 1200,⁴⁵ and may have been associated with a major treasury.⁴⁶ In 1200, as in the eleventh century, the Varangians were quartered in the old barracks of the Excubiti, inside the Chalke Gate, and a contingent of Thracian troops was appointed to guard the palace.⁴⁷ Prisons for political offenders existed at the Ivory Gate and the Noumera.⁴⁸ Games were held at the Hippodrome as late as the reign of Alexios III.⁴⁹ Throughout the twelfth century, the first concern of every insecure new ruler was to seize the Great Palace,⁵⁰ and the course of the revolt described by Mesarites shows that the palace was still the main objective in a *coup d'état*—unlike the Palaiologan period, when *colpistes* made for the Blachernae.⁵¹

In the light of these considerations, Manuel's policy with regard to the Great Palace hardly appears unconventional or

43. Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1928), pp. 21, 23, 130; Attaleiates (*CSHB*), p. 256; Janin, *op. cit.*

44. Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, p. 384 (497); V. Grumel, 'Le "Miracle Habituel" de N.D. des Blachernes à Constantinople', *EO*, XXX (1931), 129–46.

45. Choniates, p. 347 (453); Heisenberg, *Palastrevolution*, pp. 25–6. Mesarites mentions that the mint-workers were people from the neighbourhood of Constantinople pressed into service.

46. The Latin conquerors found large quantities of treasure at both the Blachernae and the 'Boukoleon' palaces in 1204: Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 249–50, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1939), II, pp. 50–3; Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, tr. E. H. Macneal (New York, 1936), pp. 102–5.

47. Zonaras (*CSHB*), III, p. 763; Heisenberg, *Palastrevolution*, p. 24.

48. Kinnamos, p. 297; E. Tsolakis, *Μιχαήλ Γλυκά, στίχοι οὗς ἔγραψε καθ' ὃν κατεσχέθη καιρόν*, (Thessaloniki, 1959), p. 6, 8.

49. Choniates, p. 530 (702).

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7 (10–11), 48 (66), 346–7 (451–4), 455–6 (600–1); Zonaras, III, p. 763.

51. Cantacuzene (*CSHB*), I, pp. 304–5; II, p. 607; III, p. 290; Gregoras, I, pp. 420–2; II, pp. 774–84; III, pp. 242–3.

neglectful. He maintained the harbour patrols instituted after the murder of Nikephoros II.⁵² While, like his grandfather, he held his early synods and received the leaders of the Second Crusade at the Blachernae,⁵³ he made full use of the Great Palace for state occasions thereafter. The synods of 1166 and 1170 were convened in his new throne-room there.⁵⁴ It was at the Great Palace that he entertained the Sultan Kilij-Arslan II (1162),⁵⁵ welcomed King Amalric of Jerusalem (1171),⁵⁶ and celebrated his son's betrothal to Agnes of France (1180).⁵⁷ He ensured that his children were born in the Porphyra.⁵⁸ The Sicilian fleet which sailed to Constantinople to insult him (1158) fired arrows at the Blachernae, but also acclaimed William of Sicily within earshot of the Great Palace.⁵⁹ When Manuel brought to Constantinople from Ephesos the stone on which Christ's body was believed to have been embalmed, the relic was disembarked at the Boukoleon and carried in procession to the Pharos church (1169).⁶⁰

These references do not prove that Manuel habitually resided in the Great Palace, but they are worth more than the detail which is cited as evidence of neglect and decay: the fact that in one part of the palace grounds the grass was long enough to hide a man.⁶¹ They show, perhaps, that Manuel's ceremonial use of the palace increased with time, as would indeed have been consistent with the evolution of his reign. His magnificent diplomacy, warfare, and domestic patronage were devoted to creating the image of a truly imperial, oecumenical, and apostolic monarch in the old grand manner.⁶² The more the

52. Choniates, p. 130 (169–70).

53. Odo of Deuil, *MPL*, CLXXXV, 1221–2; Kinnamos, pp. 82–3; A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale* (Paris, 1711), II, p. 916; *MPG*, CXL, 177.

54. See notes 23–5.

55. Kinnamos, p. 207; Choniates, p. 120 (157–8).

56. William of Tyre, XX, 23; *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, I, part 2 (Paris, 1844), pp. 983–5.

57. *Ibid.*, XXII, 4 (p. 1067). Cf. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais*, p. 74.

58. Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, p. 168 (219); Regél, *Fontes*, fasc. 2, p. 366. On the Porphyra, see Ebersolt, pp. 148–9.

59. Choniates, p. 99 (130–1).

60. *Ibid.*, p. 222 (289–90).

61. *Ibid.*, p. 129 (169); Kinnamos, p. 233.

62. Manuel's sense of *renovatio* is admirably illustrated by the inscription of the edict which he published subsequent to the synod of 1166: see Mango, 'Conciliar Edict', 324, 330.

image belied the substance, the more it needed superficial lustre, and an authentic frame such as only the palace of Constantine could provide.

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Additional note

For the hypothetical topography of the Great Palace, one should consult the plans published by S. Miranda in 1964 and 1968; these, for all their faults, are the only ones which take account of the work of Mamboury, the Walker Trust excavators, Guiland, and Mango, and which give an idea of the labyrinthine complexity of the tenth-century ensemble.^a The considerable differences between Miranda's two versions reveal how much, in the present state of the evidence, is left to the draughtsman's imagination. There are, however, some clues, and in visualizing the relative location of the buildings mentioned above, it is important to ensure that they are not disregarded.

1. As regards the general level of the entire Chrysotriklinos group, and also of the twelfth-century additions, it should be noted that twelfth-century sources indicate that the Sphendone of the Hippodrome was a favourite point from which to look, and shout, into the palace.^b

2. It is clear that the orientation of the Triklinos of Justinian was east–west, since the Skyla was at its western extremity, and one side of it was exposed to the pressure of the south wind; it extended down a slope, presumably eastwards, and seems to have had a garden at its eastern end.^c

(a) Miranda, *op. cit.* (see n. 17); the 1968 plan is to be found at the back of Guiland's *Etudes de topographie*.

(b) Choniates, 235 (306); Mesarites, ed. Heisenberg, *Palastrevolution*, p. 27. Cf. R. Guiland, 'Les portes de l'Hippodrome', *JÖBG*, IV (1955), 71–2 (*Etudes de topographie*, pp. 528–9); the author's statements about 'Caspian Gates' in the Great Palace need not be taken seriously.

(c) Combine *Cer.*, I, 21, p. 123: ἐνδὸν τῶν Σκύλων, ἡγουν εἰς τὴν ἀκρὰν τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ; II, 2, 524: ἀναβλέπων πρὸς τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος, ἡγουν πρὸς τὰ Σκύλα; II, 15, p. 585: ἐν τῷ ἀνατολικῷ μέρει τῷ πρὸς τὸ μεσοκῆπιον; II, 145, κατὰ τὸν Ἰουστινιάνειον τρίκλινον . . . λέχριον ὄντα τοῖς κατὰ πύλας εἰσιούσι πρῶτως καὶ ἀνωθεν ἕως κάτω διήκοντα . . . ὃς τῷ χρόνῳ παρεγκλιθεὶς ἐπὶ θάτερα νότου βιαίου πνεύσαντος ὕστερον καταπίπτει. Cf. Ebersolt, p. 98.

3. The Lausiakos was used independently of the Triklinos of Justinian for communication between the Chrysotriklinos and northern parts of the palace.^d

In the light of point 1, it seems quite likely that the cistern found near the Sphendone could be the one mentioned by Skylitzes (see n. 17), and therefore a good starting-point for future archaeological investigation.

Combining points 2 and 3 with what we have already observed about the floor-level of the Lausiakos relative to those of adjoining *triklinoi*, one may conclude that it lay north or north-east of the Triklinos of Justinian. In this, the arrangement proposed in Miranda's first plan seems substantially correct—subject, perhaps, to some adjustment of proportions.

The Triklinos of Manuel should probably be situated south of the Triklinos of Justinian, and south-east of the Sphendone.

(d) See n. 15; Guiland, 'La porte des Skyla', 77–82 (155–8).